

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 OMB-01 AF-10 HA-05 EA-10
DOE-15 SOE-02 NRC-05 OES-07 EB-08 NEA-11 /165 W
-----052503 021759Z /46

R 021553Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7496
INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
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E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, GE
SUBJECT: EIGHTH PARTY PLENUM: FOREIGN POLICY
HIGHLIGHTS

REFS: (A) BERLIN 3566, (B) BERLIN 3627, (C) BERLIN 3634
(D) BERLIN 3637, (E) BERLIN 3667

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES TOOK UP A
RELATIVELY SMALL PORTION OF THE ATTENTION OF THE
EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD IN EAST BERLIN
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MAY 25 AND 26. THE SPEAKERS TOOK A GENERALLY
HARD, UNCOMPROMISING STAND ON MOST
ISSUES, INCLUDING AFRICA. THE FRG AND CHINA
WERE TREATED HARSHLY. WHILE HONECKER AND FOREIGN
MINISTER FISCHER AVOIDED ANY DIRECT CRITICISM OF
THE US, SED SECRETARY AXEN WAS VERY POINTED IN
HIS NEGATIVE COMMENTS ON THE US ADMINISTRATION.

END SUMMARY.

2. SED GENERAL SECRETARY HONECKER DEVOTED THE FIRST PORTION OF HIS REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON MAY 24 TO A REVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. THE MAIN POINTS ARE AS FOLLOWS.

3. BELGRADE CONFERENCE. HONECKER SAID THAT THE MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WAS THAT IT CONFIRMED THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AS THE BASIC DOCUMENT OF DETENTE. HE CRITICIZED "CERTAIN NATO CIRCLES" WHICH TRIED TO UNDERMINE THE CONFERENCE AND FORCE THROUGH A DOCUMENT WHICH WAS INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE FINAL ACT AND WHICH TRIED TO GIVE A DISTORTED PICTURE OF SOCIALISM WITH "DECEITFUL" WORDS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. DISARMAMENT. HONECKER SUPPORTED THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS MADE AT THE KOMSOMOL CONFERENCE AND DEMANDED A PROHIBITION OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE NEUTRON BOMB. HE WARNED THAT THE PRODUCTION OF THE BOMB PLANNED BY THE US COULD MEAN A NEW ROUND IN THE ARMAMENTS RACE. HE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A SALT AGREEMENT REACHED ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY FOR ALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PARTIES CONCERNED AND FOR AN MBFR AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SIDES. HE BLAMED THE NATO COUNTRIES FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN MBFR BECAUSE, HE SAID, THEY INSISTED ON OBTAINING ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGES.

5. AFRICA. HONECKER GAVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO AFRICA, EMPHASIZING THE UNDIMINISHED ROLE THE GDR PLAYS THERE. PUTTING THE GDR'S ACTIVITIES INTO AN IDEOLOGICAL SETTING, HONECKER SAID THAT THE GDR ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO "ANTI-IMPERIALIST COOPERATION" WITH LIBERATED STATES AND WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AS AN ELEMENT OF THE CLASS CONFLICT WITH IMPERIALISM. HE DESCRIBED AFRICA AS A FOCAL POINT OF ACTIVITY, A CONTINENT IN THE PROCESS OF REVOLUTION WHERE IMPERIALIST POWERS FEVERISHLY STRUGGLE TO REGAIN THEIR POSITION. HONECKER SET AS THE GDR'S GOAL IN AFRICA THE LIBERATION AND THE NATIONAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE. HE MADE A POINT OF STRESSING THAT THE GDR STOOD WITH THE

USSR, CUBA AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN
SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
HONECKER EXPRESSED SPECIAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE
"ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION."

6. HONECKER CALLED FOR THE IMMEDIATE SOUTH
AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA, THE TOTAL
REMOVAL OF ALL "OCCUPATION TROOPS," THE BREAKUP
OF THE ORGANS OF COLONIAL POWER AND THE RECOGNITION
OF NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL
UNITY.

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7. MIDDLE EAST. HONECKER'S RELATIVELY BRIEF
TREATMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST WAS DEVOTED LARGELY
TO A CONDEMNATION OF ISRAELI'S ATTACK ON SOUTHERN
LEBANON. HE CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE, COMPLETE AND

UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS. HONECKER STATED THAT A JUST AND COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY ISRAELI'S WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, WITH A GUARANTEE OF THE INALIENABLE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO THEIR OWN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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STATE, AS WELL AS THE INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE AND SECURITY OF ALL STATES OF THE REGION. (NO REFERENCE WAS MADE TO RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.)

8. HONECKER'S COMMENTS ON SHABA EVENTS ARE REPORTED REFTEL A, ON FRG-GDR RELATIONS, REF C AND ON RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, SEPTEL. FOREIGN MINISTER FISCHER'S STATEMENT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS REPORTED REF D.

9. BY FAR THE TOUGHEST STATEMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WAS THAT OF HERMANN AXEN, POLITBURO MEMBER AND SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE MAIN THEME IN AXEN'S ADDRESS IS A WARNING THAT THE IMPERIALIST POWERS, AND SPECIFICALLY THE US, ARE ATTEMPTING TO RECAPTURE POWER POSITIONS LOST IN RECENT YEARS. WHILE HONECKER ALLUDED ONLY IN PASSING TO THE UNITED STATES (IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEUTRON BOMB), AXEN DIRECTLY CRITICIZED THE US AND THE "NEW ADMINISTRATION" AS AN ENEMY OF DETENTE. AXEN STATED THAT THE GAP BETWEEN US GLOBAL AMBITIONS AND THE CHANGED REALITIES OF WORLD POWER HAS LEAD TO NEW US FAILURES. DESPITE THAT, HE WARNS, THE US LEADERSHIP HAS NOT ABANDONED ITS INTENTION TO REDRESS THESE DEFEATS. AXEN CHARGES THE US WITH TRYING TO APPLY THE "INFAMOUS DOCTRINE OF VIETNAMIZATION" IN VARIOUS AREAS BY PROVOKING ARAB AGAINST ARAB, AFRICAN AGAINST AFRICAN AND ARAB AGAINST AFRICAN. THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION, AXEN ARGUES, IS ATTEMPTING TO GIVE AN IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT TO ITS FOREIGN POLICY BY TWO MEANS: BY TOUTING THE ALLEGED SOVIET DANGER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THE ARMS RACE AND BY STIRRING UP A HYPOCRITICAL CAMPAIGN ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY DIRECT INTERFERENCE IN THE

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, LIBERATED NATIONS AND CERTAIN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES WHERE THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS OF COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT.

10. AXEN WAS EQUALLY CRITICAL OF THE FRG, SAYING THAT IMPERIALIST CIRCLES IN THE FRG WERE ATTEMPTING TO ABUSE THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES IN ORDER TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE GDR. THEY ALSO SEEK TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE USSR AND THE OTHER "FRATERNAL" COUNTRIES, AND TO ATTACK THE UNITY OF THE SED AND ITS LEADERSHIP UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY. (THIS LATTER IS PRESUMABLY A REFERENCE TO THE PUBLICATION IN DER SPIEGEL IN JANUARY OF THE SO-CALLED OPPOSITION MANIFESTO.)

11. AXEN CHARACTERIZED BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO BONN AS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE IT CAUSED THE FRG LEADERS TO COMMIT THEMSELVES IN WRITING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. ALTHOUGH THIS IS POSITIVE AND IMPORTANT, AXEN WENT ON, WHAT WILL BE DECISIVE IS WHETHER AND HOW THIS COMMITMENT WILL BE REALIZED IN FACT. HE CRITICIZED ASPECTS OF FRG POLICY AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE TREATY ARRANGEMENTS IN EUROPE, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, CITING AS EXAMPLES WEST GERMAN ARMAMENTS POLICY, REVANCHIST POSITIONS TOWARD THE GDR AND IN REGARD TO WEST BERLIN, THE UPSWELLING OF NATIONALIST, ANTI-COMMUNIST AND

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-----053101 021802Z /46

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ANTI-SOVIET HATE AND THE ATTACKS AGAINST THE EAST
GERMAN BORDER AND THE ECONOMY OF THE GDR.

12, HE WARNS THAT CAPITALISM IS BEING THREATENED
AS A SYSTEM AND IS MAKING A COORDINATED EFFORT
AGAINST SOCIALISM IN THE POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL,
ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SPHERES. HE NOTED SEVERAL
MAJOR TRENDS IN IMPERIALIST POLICY.

- FORCING THE ARMAMENTS RACE.
- INTRODUCTION OF NEW SYSTEMS OF MASS

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DESTRUCTION

- ARMS STANDARDIZATION AND UNIFICATION
- THE ACTIVATION OF EXISTING MILITARY
PACTS
- THE ENLARGEMENT OF NATO THROUGH THE
INCLUSION, AS OBSERVERS, OF SPAIN
AND GREECE
- PLANS FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ASEAN
PACT INTO A MILITARY ALLIANCE
- THE PREPARATION OF A NEW IMPERIALIST
ALLIANCE SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC
- THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN EARLY WARNING
SYSTEM AGREED UPON BY NATO DEFENSE
MINISTERS

13. AXEN OUTLINED A NUMBER OF ACHIEVEMENTS THAT
HAVE COME ABOUT AS THE RESULT OF THE DOCTRINE OF
DETENTE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, INCLUDING THE
GROWING POWER OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN A NUMBER
OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND THE LIBERATION OF MANY
PEOPLES IN ASIA AND AFRICA "IN PARTICULAR IN
ETHIOPIA AND AFGHANISTAN." THE SPECIAL ATTENTION
GIVEN TO ETHIOPIA IS NOT SURPRISING AND HAS BECOME

COMMON RECENTLY. HOWEVER, THIS IS THE FIRST TIME WE CAN RECALL SEEING AFGHANISTAN PUT INTO THE SAME CATEGORY. (THE GDR FORMALLY RECOGNIZED THE NEW REGIME IN KABUL ON MAY 2 AND HAS GIVEN IT EXTENSIVE AND FAVORABLE PRESS TREATMENT.)

14. COMMENT. ALTHOUGH FOR THE MOST PART THE FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS ARE REITERATIONS OF FAMILIAR POSITIONS, THE TONE WAS HARsher THAN USUAL AND AT TIMES ALMOST BELIGERENT. IN KEEPING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH SED SETTING IT WAS ALSO HIGHLY IDEOLOGICAL IN CHARACTER. THIS ACCOUNTS, IN OUR VIEW, FOR THE DIFFERENCE IN TONE BETWEEN CHIEF OF STATE HONECKER AND AXEN, WHOSE FUNCTION IS MORE IDEOLOGICAL IN NATURE. END COMMENT. BOLEN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY LINE, PARTY MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BERLIN03729
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780231-0775
Format: TEL
From: BERLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806104/aaaadlof.tel
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Litigation History:
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Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 BERLIN 3566, 78 BERLIN 3627, 78 BERLIN 3634, 78 BERLIN 3637, 78 BERLIN 3667
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2151436
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EIGHTH PARTY PLENUM: FOREIGN POLICY HIGHLIGHTS
TAGS: PGOV, GC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/856f147d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014